

News in Public Memory : The Case of China

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Abstract

This survey was conducted as part of an international survey of ten countries in the world : Australia, Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, India, Japan, Mexico, South Africa, and the USA. The survey method was qualitative research, and common for these ten countries : group interviews of three generations each, typical to media development, and the content is : 1) media environment of their teen-age time, 2) interaction with these media, 3) world news (and national news) of their teen-age period that remain still now in their memory to play a role in the later formation of their individual personality and, as a collection of them, national characteristics.

Although the development of media varies slightly by countries, the three generations commonly selected here form, in China, typically the newspaper generation, the radio generation and the Internet generation. Some typical phenomena for China have been revealed : to name a few, for the oldest generation news was delivered by newspapers displayed at public spaces, first to the literate, who then delivered them orally to the public. Therefore, there was full variety in the knowledge of this generation people, by gender, by social strata, by education, by dwelling place. For the middle generation, however, as a result of the development of the radio and the installment of "trumpets" in every local community, the limited knowledge : the teachings by Mao Zedong, was unanimously prevailed from the central government to every corner and every social stratum of the country.

1. Introduction

These surveys were conducted as part of international research of 10 countries, nine of which were published in 2006 as *News in Public*

Memory: An International Study of Media Memories across Generations (Volkmer, 2006). The study is based on focus-group interviews with members of three generations in each of the 10 countries, and focuses on media-related

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memories of childhood and youth. "Memory studies provide a way of looking at historical reception, what people remember of history, the ways it is made useful in their lives" (Anderson, 2001, p. 21). We have focused on the function of media and have tried to clarify the mechanism and influence that the media play upon the lives of people.

Three generations have been selected for this purpose. Each has experienced very particular roles on the media as mediators of the world, as well as very specific news cultures during their formative years. These include the following :

- 1) The Radio Generation, born between 1924 and 1929, their formative years between 1935 and 1946,
- 2) The Black-and-White Television Generation, born between 1954 and 1959, their formative years between 1965 and 1975, and
- 3) The Internet Generation, born between 1979 and 1984, their formative years being between 1989 and 1999.

(Volkmer, 2006, p. 14)

The report on the Case of China was delayed and could not be included in the publication above ; therefore, we present this here.

2. Chinese Historical Backgrounds and Demography of the Interviewees' Historical Background

We are aware that, in some countries, certain media have emerged into everyday life sooner than others. However, these overall generational-specific categories serve as a description of the leading media culture during the childhood/youth years of each generation. As these surveys is a part of international research conducted with the same conditions, we adhere

to these generational criteria. We need, however, to explain the Chinese situation first.

As a result of the Opium War in 1842, debunking the myth that China was a "Sleeping Lion," "western powers" came to China one after another, and urged the latter to cede its territory to the former. The land was divided and occupied by England, Russia, Germany, France and the United States. The last power was Japan.

Japan occupied a northern part, and the Manchurian Empire was founded in 1932 under its control. In 1937, the Chinese Nationalist Government had to move its capital from Nanjing to Chongqing. The Nanking Government ruled ; at the same time the Nationalist Party and emerging Communist Party were in competition, however they would later form a coalition against Japan. The Chinese, therefore, call now the period between 1935 and 1945, our first target years of investigation, "Anti-Japan-War Period." The Nanjing Government collapsed in 1945. The People's Republic of China was then proclaimed in 1949 when the Nationalist Government moved to Taiwan.

The second target span, from 1965 to 1975, was the period when the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" rampaged. "The Group of Five (Four)" (文化革命五人小組), which was the promoter of the Cultural Revolution, was announced in 1964. During this period the Communist Party philosophy developed by Mao Zedong was vigorously injected throughout the nation. Mao died in 1976.

The third investigation period from 1989 to 1999 began with the Second Tiananmen Movement in 1989. By the time this disturbance calmed in China, many other Communist countries changed their policies, leaving China as the only powerful Communist country and feeling pressure of moving toward global confor-

mity.

Each of these three periods constitutes, therefore, a politically typical period in the modern history of China.

Media Development

The development of media began when the Chinese invented paper in the second century and printing techniques in the sixth century. These materialistic bases enabled a prototype newspaper during the Tang Dynasty Period (618–892), which were official written announcements. There were also private prototype newspapers among ordinary people.

A modern type of *newspaper* appeared at the beginning of the 19th century when European missionaries tried to spread Christianity and European civilization in China. Soon the Chinese learned the method and used it to spread their political thoughts and discussions.

In 1949, when The People's Republic of China was founded, there were 281 newspapers and grew to more than 1,700 in the 1960's. However, the number decreased drastically during the period of the "Cultural Revolution."

In 1989, the beginning year of our investigation of the youngest cohort, the kinds of newspapers became 1618 and the published copies were 151,480,000.

Americans established the first *radio* station in Shanghai, which began broadcasting in 1923. In 1926, the Chinese Government established its own station.

In January 1936, at almost the start of our investigation, the governmental radio stations numbered 76. In 1937, the number of radio stations in the area ruled by the Nationalist Party was 78 and the number of the radio sets people had was 200,000.

In 1940, the Communist Government started its first radio station, which was later

renamed China National Radio (CNR). In 1965, the CNR had four sets of programs : two comprehensive programs for people in Mainland China, one mainly for entertainment, and the other targeting the people in Taiwan specifically. By this time wired radio flourished together with the media movement in the rural areas. The network of cabled radio was organized. At the end of 1965 cabled radio stations reached 2,365 and the number of so-called "trumpets" (public address loudspeaker systems) was 8,725,000. During the period of Cultural Revolution (period of the second cohort), however, local stations stopped completely ; only the Central Station continued. The cabled radio systems continued and even developed further.

After the recovery from the Cultural Revolution, in 1979, the number of radio stations was 99. They broadcast in 26 dialects and 135 sets of programs. Cabled radio stations reached 2,560 and sent information to 107,710,000 loudspeakers. By this time the news delivery network was established : from the Central to the locals, by both wireless and cabled radios and also in 43 foreign languages.

The first TV station was Beijing TV which started in 1958. By the end of the 1960's 29 TV stations existed, however, the number decreased soon after.

In 1966, Beijing TV announced its policy that it would broadcast no programs produced before the Cultural Revolution. It would broadcast information about the Cultural Revolution, with letters in "Concise News" (簡明ニュース). It broadcast only the controlled news pieces ; but no educational programs, nor any entertainment programs.

After 1977, the TV in China progressed remarkably. In 1995, there was one Central TV station, 35 provincial level stations and 801

Cohort	Name	Age at interview time	Gender	Place of Birth	Family	Family Occupation	Education	Media Equipment	Present or Last Occupation
Oldest	Guotai	72	m	Nanch'ang City, Jingxi	mother	mother working	university		university professor
	Quinhua	69	m	Jingsu Province	parents & older brother	agriculture	secondary school		air force soldier
	Tie	74	m	Shanghai	parents & each 2 older & younger brothers & sisters		university	radio	air force soldier
	Xiao Ying	68	f	Liaoning	parents	both company employee			university employee
	Yiu Ying	70	f	沈陽市, Liaoning	parents, older brother				university employee
	Rong Rong	68	f	Weihai, Shandong	parents	company employee			doctor
Middle	Guojien	44	m	長垣県, Henan	parents, 2 older sisters, younger sisters, younger brothers, 1 older brother	company employee	three year university extension	radio	hydraulic power generation
	Dali	43	m	Xi'an City, Shaanxi	parents	mother working	three year university extension	radio	TV company
	Quoqing	45	m	Xi'an City, Shaanxi			three year university extension	radio	TV company
	Xi Xi	45	f	Sanmenxia City, Henan	parents, 2 younger sisters, 1 younger brother	company employee	three year university extension	radio	hydraulic power generation
	Hong Yien	44	f	Luoyang City, Henan	parents, 1 older brother, 2 older sisters, 1 younger brother	high position official	three year university extension	newspaper, radio	hydraulic power generation
	Ten Fong	41	f	Xi'an City, Shaanxi			three year university extension	radio	TV company
Youngest	Xiao Guong	18	m	Xuchang, Henan	parents, younger brother	company employee	college student	newspaper, radio, TV	college student
	Dabao	17	m	Jiaozuo City, Henan	grandmother, parents, younger sister	agriculture	college student	2 radios, TV	college student
	Jiyuan	18	m	Xinyang, Henan	parents, older sister	transportation company	college student	newspaper, radio, TV	college student
	Xiao Hong	17	f	Anyang City, Henan	parents, older sister	independent business	college student	newspaper, 2 radios, TV	college student
	Xiao Xi	18	f	Anyang City, Henan	parents, older and younger brothers	automobile mechanics	college student	newspaper, radio, 2 TVs	college student
	Xiao Ai	17	f	Xinyang City, Henan	grandparents, parents, younger brother	furniture company employee	college student	newspaper, radio, TV	college student

other levels. By 1996 the number of cabled TV stations counted 1280, and 51,000,000 families received cabled broadcasting delivery. Satellite stations started in 1982. In the 1990's Central TV had eight channels and the programs were delivered through satellites to such areas of the world as Asia, East Europe, East Africa and North America.

(Sources : 趙, 1987 ; 小糸, 1985 ; 高井, 2002 ; 横澤, 2003 ; Liu, 1998 ; Lull, 1994)

Interviews

The three cohorts which have been chosen as targets of our interviews, therefore, formed typical landmarks in the political and developmental media history in China.

The group interviews of the oldest cohort were conducted in Xi'an City and Sanmenxia City (both in Henan Province) in October, 1999. Five of the interviewees were retired from a profession or an occupation of high rank. The middle cohort was also interviewed in the same cities in October 1999 in work places of the hydraulic power generation and the TV station. The youngest cohort was met at about the same time in Sanmenxia City, Henan Province. The demography of these interviewees are shown in the table.

All the group interviews were conducted in the Chinese language by Wang Xin Cui. She translated transcript data into Japanese and Reiko Sekiguchi interpreted these data. Any errors are solely the responsibility of Sekiguchi as she was unable to consult with Wan. All interviewee's names are fictitious.

3. Media Environment

From the brief history of the development of media, it is clear that the physical media environment changed drastically. First, we will

describe the physical media environment of the three cohorts reported by the interviewees.

Oldest Cohort (1935-1945)

The media environment the oldest cohort should have had was *newspaper* and *radio*. Actually Guotai mentioned the name of a newspaper : 大公报 (*Da gong bao*, Great Public Announcement). From the name it is easily recognizable as a governmental newspaper. "It was published in Chongqing, but not in Shanghai" (Guotai). He knew it was the only newspaper there. It was just one sheet long and the news was on the first page. His family did not subscribe to it, but he read it in a small library. The other names were 申報 (*Sheng bao*) and 新聞報 (*Xin weng bao*) in Shanghai, according to Tie.

Quinhua said he read a newspaper when he was in the army. Work places also had newspaper subscriptions. Tie was also in the army, but his did not have one. Later, there was a newspaper called 挺進報 (*Tin jing bao*), which was small-sized and aimed solely at soldiers. It came once in several months as the traffic situation was extremely bad. Even after the "Eman-cipation," people could read a newspaper only in big cities, such as Nanjing and Shanghai. Generally individual people could not afford to buy one as it was very expensive.

Three women mentioned that they did not have an opportunity to even see a newspaper at all. Therefore, newspapers were meant for men to see in a public place. Newspapers were not means for a private family to buy. Only enterprises such as army or workplaces subscribed to it.

As for the radio, five interviewees definitely said they did not have an opportunity to listen to it at all. Only Tie, whose family lived in the Concession controlled by Britain, had a radio set in the house. It was wireless and he remem-

bered his older brother listened to it. The content was news. The radio station was in Shanghai and broadcast news and music.

These cohort people bought a radio set in 1954 (Rong Rong), or in 1955 (Xiao Ying) and a transistor radio in 1978 (Yiu Ying).

Middle Cohort (1965-1975)

All six interviewees of the middle cohort mentioned something about a newspaper, a radio set and a TV set, but the TV was not common until 1975.

Hong Yien's family subscribed to a *newspaper* specifically because her father was engaged in an occupation related to political studies. 光明日報 (*Guang ming ribao*) was a newspaper of high level targeted to learned people. The other families did not subscribe to a newspaper. However, they had some access to newspapers. Xi Xi's mother could read a newspaper at her workplace. Quoqing read them often in a public place where newspapers are shown on the wall so that people could read them.

Dali summarized about newspapers the following: "There was a phrase: two newspapers and one journal" (二報一刊) at that time. Two newspapers meant 人民日報 (*Xian ribao*, People's Daily) and 解放軍日報 (*Cankao xioy xi*, Emancipation Army Daily) and one journal 紅旗 (*Hongqui*, Crimson Flag). These were typical publications at that time. There were also local newspapers.

"Although there were several of these, their layout were all the same: On the upper right corner was Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong" (Quoqing). The contents of the biggest piece of news on the first page were almost all the same. These were almost all announcements by Mao Zedong (Dali). Ordinary people read a local paper and people related to the national organization would prefer *Xian ribao* as

they wanted to read considerations on national policies (Dali).

Beside newspapers, there was 大字報 (*Da zi bau*, Big Letter Announcement), which was a sheet of paper on which information was handwritten with large letters. There were also many extra editions to propaganda fliers (Quoqing, Hong Yien). Several newspapers were used as political tools to propagate the political control of the ruler.

The *radio* should be paid special attention because many admitted that it was the most important news media for the middle cohort (Xi Xi, Quoqing, Hong Yien, Ten Fong), which was more widely prevalent than the newspaper (Dali). At that time there were cabled radio networks and loudspeakers were on every street and also in many private houses. Loudspeakers on every street is unique to China. Dali's family had a normal radio set as it was now. In 1958 or 1959, his family bought that radio set for 160 yun. It was very large in shape.

Three out of six interviewees mentioned the primary news source media were radios at that time, although one also added propaganda fliers as well. To summarize, "the most powerful form of media at that time was the radio." (Xi Xi)

Nobody had a TV set in the family before 1975, the last investigation year for this cohort, but signs of TV ownership surfaced. Dali saw a TV for the first time when he was in the second year of high school. "In the area I lived in there was a cultural and entertainment facility, where they sold tickets to watch TV. It was three yun. From there I learned the existence of what was called TV. Around 1967, I cleaned the facility as a job, but without pay, and for that work I was given a privilege to watch the TV. It was a black and white one.

During the time of the Cultural Revolution,

Dali's neighbor was working in a radio station. "He made a TV set for himself. It was three inches one and of this size (he show the size with both hands). It was round. He made it with cine-scope cathode-ray tube. Soon after he made another set of five inches. It was round. The color was green, white or black, I cannot say well. The screen pictures were not clear, but we went to him and watched it, standing near" (Dali). "The programs were movies. There were no dramas produced specially for the TV."

In the time when there were no TVs on hand, *movie news* was a source of impressive information. It was shown before the entertainment movies. In it, for example, Mao Zedong gave an interview to Hong Wei Bing members (紅衛兵 Red Guard), or welcomed guests from other countries.

Youngest Cohort (1989-1999)

All the interviewees of this cohort had a colored TV set in their home. The change between this and the former cohorts was vast. Xiao Xi who said she had two sets in the family, still kept the black and white TV which they had bought first, but was not used often after obtaining the colored one. Therefore, all had one colored TV set in use in the family. One had cable TV.

Two families had two *radio* sets, and the other four just one. The kind of radio sets were portable. In such rural areas as Dabao lived, people still used wired radio which they hung on walls. As the radio wave was not stable and sometimes inaudible, TV quickly surpassed it.

Five out of six subscribed to a *newspaper*, but the subscription was not constant. The names given were local papers or special ones for the purpose of learning a language, or newspapers related to the TV. Most of them said that Father read a newspaper in his workplace. Be-

cause newspapers were expensive (Xiao Guong), parents did not want to pay for it (Dabao). Father bought a local newspaper sometimes in a store when he wanted to know a particular matter (Dabao).

One (Xiao Guong) mentioned about the *Internet* spontaneously when she was talking about a newspaper. "I read a newspaper on the Internet. But I can use the Internet only in school. If I use it at other places, it is expensive." This remark suggested that in China many of this generation were using the Internet, but cost was an issue. Absent this, however, it would spread quickly.

4. Communications with Media

This chapter describes how people interacted with the physical environment of media described in the previous chapter.

Oldest Cohort (1935-1945)

With one exception who lived in the British Concession and had radio, for this cohort the newspaper was the only media available. But none of them had subscriptions, though all of them are learned persons who subscribe and read it now.

The *newspaper* was an important media and there were devices for people to have access to it. Guotai read it in the library. There were public places especially for newspapers to be displayed – a unique device for China – and also "important" messages were displayed with large, handwritten letters. It was a tradition in China that written news was distributed that way. Literate people read the newspapers there, and then read it loudly to illiterate people, sometimes adding their comments. That was a role of intelligent and learned people, who formed the leading social stratum of each

community. Guotai, who later became a professor, went thus to such places often and read the Editorial Discussions of an intelligent newspaper with interest. The chief editor “knew the situations of the Government under the Nationalist Party and reported much on it. The editor disclosed how the society under that Party was decomposed, and criticized it.”

Middle Cohort (1965-1975)

This tradition of “public reading place” continued into the period of the middle cohort. Quoqing went to such places whenever he had time and read *newspapers*. For this cohort, buying newspapers was not common. There were also many fliers that propagated or criticized the ruling political groups. The newspapers and news fliers were used as means of propaganda of groups and slander against other groups. There seemed to have been confusion at the beginning. “When I became a junior high student, I had an access to a newspaper, but the political situations changed very much and the society was in confusion. I did not understand the news contents. Therefore I did not tell about the newspaper contents to others” (Hong Yien). Dali evaluated these fliers as unreliable because they were used to blame antagonistic political groups. He commented that people should not have believed their contents. Young people were particularly susceptible to being suayed. “Father read newspapers very often and told contents to us. Father seemed to be interested in international and domestic news very much.” As a result of that, people lost faith in the media. “I learned from what adults were saying rather than directly from the newspaper.” (Hong Yien)

In contrast to the newspaper, the *radio* seems to have had great influence upon this generation. Those who had a loudspeaker at

home “began to listen to the radio at 6 : 30 every morning. The family was still sleeping, but Father put the radio on” (Dali). As mentioned before in every street there were loudspeakers and they constantly shed news whenever it was necessary such that people could not shut the switches off. People thought sometimes it was too noisy (Xi Xi). “One of the characteristics of the radio was it did not hinder people nor their manual works. And people can listened to it together.” (Dali)

This, along with another artificial devise, helped an ideology in the people. “A company told its employees that there would be an important broadcasting in the evening. In those hours important messages, that is, Quotations from Mao Zedong, were broadcast at a speed people could take dictation. We wrote it down. When the dictation finished, people beat gongs and drums, and celebrated the new instructions by Mao Zedong” (Dali). “It gave me a deep impression. In my father’s company, when an announcement was made there would be an important message at seven o’clock, people hurried back in the evening to the company again from home” (Quoqing). Hong Yien “still remembers people in the town did ceremonial activities when they had listened to the radio announce a new instruction.”

Not only was the ideology spread from machine to individuals, but also group mechanics and group psychology were effectively utilized. These central messages were not only broadcast by the central radio, but also by local radio stations.

The radio was in this way the means to “educate” people into the central policies — to proclaim the ideas of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Youngest Cohort 15-20 (1989-1999)

All the interviewees' families had a colored TV set. One had a Cable TV. Colored TV was so attractive that it was quite understandable that it completely took over the position of the radio which flourished for the middle age cohort.

TV was used mostly for entertainment purposes. Some had a cable TV for which they had to pay, but they did not think it was as expensive as the newspaper. Xiao Hong liked to watch the US cartoon Mickey Mouse ; Xiao Ai mentioned enjoying western movies run on Sunday. TV was a means of entertainment for Xiao Xi ; she watched cable TV and movies whenever she had time. Jiyuan watched TV all day long during summer and winter vacations.

The TV set was in the living room. A person in the family who came home first switched the TV on and it continued to be on until they went to bed. They watched TV together with the whole family while eating supper (Xiao Ai). When Father was there, they watched such programs as Digest of News delivered by the newspaper.

"Before we bought a TV set, we used radio very often, listening to the news and hearing songs, but after we bought it, we did not use the radio any more, except in the morning" (Xiao Hong). "We did not listen to the radio at all. The TV was more interesting than the radio." (Xiao Xi)

Despite TV's dominance, the *radio* was still used for a particular purpose. An older brother of Xiao Xi used a short wave radio to listen to the programs of other countries. "As I can listen to English news with the radio, it will be profitable to learn English" (Jiyuan). "Grandfather used a small radio set when he went out for a walk. He liked to take a walk while listening. He also listened to the radio at home : local dramas" (Xiao Ai). "When the power supply [the

electricity] was blocked off, we sometimes put the radio on as we could not see the TV. It was convenient, as even though there was no electricity, we can hear it if we have batteries" (Xiao Ai). For this cohort, the radio was no longer cabled, but portable.

The radio, which had been the main media to get news from for the middle generation, was no longer used much by this cohort. It was used for a certain particular purpose which only the radio could do, such as when power was unavailable, while walking or when one wanted to listen to foreign language news. As the TV was not individualized yet in China, people came to the radio when they were by themselves (Jiyuan) or when they had a particular purpose.

Many families subscribed to a newspaper, but did not find it as interesting as TV. Xiao Hong therefore read advertisements. Most of the fathers read newspapers, but they read them in the office, or sometimes bought one at a newspaper stand when there was something they wanted to know. Mothers were generally negative toward newspapers, which affected young people's attitude. They read it in the library or in school. If they subscribed to it at home, it was a kind of newspaper for a special purpose that they could not get in such public places.

The change of the newspapers was reported. "When I was smaller, I did not read a newspaper because there had been few pictures and illustrations. The present newspaper became more interesting. There are colored papers with more pictures, and the contents became full of variety" (Xiao Xi). She therefore read novels.

5. The World News

Here we will investigate people's memories

as a result of their media environment and interaction within. Ten world events that happened during their youth and childhood had been selected for each cohort and interviewees were asked what and how they remembered about these events.

Oldest Cohort (1935-1945)

Looking at the table we made to summarize the results, one thing is quite clear for the oldest cohort — women knew very little about world news. To make it visible, we show it as “Knowledge Rate”: how many out of how many know the event. It is 2/30 (ten items by three interviewees) for the women of the oldest cohort while it is 16/30 for men. The only item out of ten that women knew was the atomic bomb. Two women knew it, and another (Rong Rong) said, “I did not know it at all. I learned it in the 1980’s for the first time. Hiroshima in Japan was attacked by an atomic bomb.”

Men answered they knew eight pieces of news out of ten with the exception of the Spanish Revolution and the Edward VIII’s retreat from the Crown.

The information gap between men and women was quite clear for this cohort. As for the national news in China we asked at the same time, the difference between the sexes was not so apparent although there were some. It is quite clear that women of this generation were not encouraged to be interested in the world news.

The media from which they learned these pieces of news may be related to what they knew. Out of thirteen persons/pieces of news they remember the media they learned the matter from, three (Beginning of World War II: two persons, Salt March, and Fall of Singapore) were delivered through newspapers, two (Fall of Singapore and Pearl Harbor) from radio. “Ja-

pan occupied a large part of our land, at the same time occupied Hong Kong and South East Asia. I knew this news. Mainly it was reported in *Great Official Report* (Guojien). “Japan did this in South East Asia. This I knew. I lived in the Concession. Japanese did not come here yet. I heard of it by the radio.” (Tie)

The other pieces of news were interpersonal. They did not learn news directly from media, but by personal communications. “I have heard of the Olympics. I knew the name Olympics. At that time one of sport champions was in my school. I learned about this concept from him. But I did not know it in detail.” (Guojien)

Personal communications played a great role, whether from colleagues or from superiors. The news about China was also conveyed through different types of interpersonal communication or direct experience. Very few people mentioned the newspaper even about the events in China. This suggests that newspaper or media did not play a significant role.

Access to media required intelligence and expenditure, and only those who could afford both had opportunities to learn what was happening in the world, which they then conveyed to other people. Normally young people received only the news that passed such screening.

Therefore, it was a characteristic in China that those who knew the news did not describe the fact itself of the events, as the interviewees of other countries did, but they always made comments or opinions about them. For example, about Crystal Night, “Ah, I have heard of it. It was a cruel matter for the Jews. This was the same the Japanese did upon the Chinese. I learned this from other persons” (Quinhua). About the atomic bomb: “I knew this. If there had not been this, Japan would not have surrendered. There was demonstration march at that time. People of North East Area had been

tortured much.” (Yiu Ying)

Middle Cohort (1965-1975)

While the knowledge rate of the oldest cohort was 18/60, that of the middle cohort was similar at 19/60. The reason is because they knew certain events very well, but nothing about others. Nobody knew Mars photos, student revolution, Independence Movement in Africa, Oil Crisis, and Wood Stock Music Fair. But they knew Cultural Revolution, Prague's Spring, Vietnam War and Watergate. It is obvious they knew about the Cultural Revolution as it was the matter in their own country. Almost all knew about the Vietnam War as Vietnam shares a border with China and the country was half involved in it. Prague's Spring was closely related, though geographically far, with their political ideology and the fall or thawing of their political system should have influence on their own political system.

The difference among pieces of news is so large. This may be related to the news source. We can guess from this result that there had been strong control on news delivery.

With the radio, the knowledge and information of the Chinese people became unanimous. The radio was a powerful medium which controlled people's minds across China. The news which was injected to the ears of people had been carefully chosen. Even with the result of this small investigation we can see how effectively this medium worked to bring people to unanimous in knowledge and thoughts.

Youngest Cohort (1989-1999)

The knowledge rate for this generation was 35/60.

All knew the collapse of Communist countries and Clinton's private life. Nobody knew of Nelson Mandela's race emancipation. They

knew other news fairly well : Tiananmen Case (five), currency crisis in Asia (five), Gulf War (four) and European currency unification (four). However, what stood out was that only two people out of six knew about the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, which most people in other countries answered they knew.

Various sources provided news. We know now people have multiple news sources. However, the sources were different according to the kind of news. TV which revealed in the former chapter to be so popular in general was not mentioned as a news source much : of Gulf War, Tiananmen Case, Diana's death by none ; Clinton's private life only by one. The TV which was overwhelming in other countries was not the case in China. They learned the news, if they know, not from the TV, but from newspapers and magazines. From this result we can guess the TV content seems to be still controlled officially at the time of news delivery, or by private hands at the time of acceptance.

The newspapers which were not very popular as a medium, however, seem to play a role as a news source for a variety of events. It was mentioned as a news source of almost all the pieces of news. Therefore, whether people have access to a newspaper or not plays a role for the formation or wide variety of knowledge in this country. Xiao Guong who read newspapers had the widest variety of knowledge.

TV forms knowledge of people on pinpoint matters such as the Economic crisis in Asia and the Unification of the currencies in Europe.

The TV has been widely accepted by people in China, however, the content it broadcasts seems to be different in China from other countries. It seems to be still controlled by some power. The newspaper reported full variety of content. The radio played a very little role on this generation except when they have particu-

lar purposes.

6. Summarizing and Concluding Remarks

Three cohorts chosen for the purpose of our group interviews: those who spent teenage years in 1935 to 1945, 1965 to 1975 and 1989 to 1999, have proved to be three typical generations not only in Chinese political history in the modern age, but also in the functional development of media in China.

The only medium the oldest cohort could use was a newspaper with the exception of radio in the limited areas of the Concession upon which "Western" powers executed their influences. There were newspapers, but they were not a private medium. Literate male people had access to it in public places, such as in the library or in the special places where newspapers were displayed on the walls. They read it, obtained information, considered the information, formed their opinions and then shared their considerations to the illiterate and such people who were not encouraged to read a newspaper as women. These literate people were opinion leaders of communities and formed a leading social class. The content these opinion leaders knew and thought might have been different according to where they lived and what information the newspaper they had access delivered. Thus geologically large China had a full variety of knowledge according to gender, social strata, education and dwelling place.

In contrast to the oldest cohort, for the people of the middle cohort, it was a required matter for all the people to listen to the radio with the completed network system of the cabled radio, from the Center to the Local areas, and in every corner of the country. Even though people were not literate or had time for reading, the news or announcements by the central radio

reached people's ears even while they were engaged in work. The radio network system became a powerful and effective medium to put new political matters into the hearts and minds of the whole nation.

During the time of the Cultural Revolution intelligent people were banned; people were dissuaded to receive education at school, which would have given them the strength to think things for themselves and in their own way. Thus important routes to reach independent ways of thinking were withheld. The base to shed the new ideology in the hearts and minds of people unanimously was thus successfully created. It was the very first step in its history for a geographically and demographically huge country as China to reach ideological unity overall. For this purpose the media, especially the radio, was tremendously effective.

Many of this middle cohort people bought a TV set around 1978 (Dali) or 1979 (Quoqing) after the Cultural Revolution when they got married and had their own family. Thus the youngest cohort had a TV set at home. However, the TV was mainly used as an entertainment source for the whole family to enjoy together. The information about the world they obtained from TV was limited. They got global news from newspapers and journals, which could be used in a personalized way. The radio and the Internet were also used for individualized particular purposes. "As for news of other countries, international newspaper is faster than Chinese newspapers. I very often listen to the radio from other countries. Especially French ones, because they are free from ideology. It is not partial. It is also quick in reporting news of other countries," Guotai of the oldest cohort said. "News in Hong Kong is faster than that in China." The youngest cohort was interested in the Internet and had the technique of

handling it. They wished the cost for the Internet would be cheaper. The literacy of this young generation is generally high, unrivaled to the former generations, as the result of hard work in school. The sign has been shown that those media that could be individualized will be a powerful news source and the base of wide knowledge soon.

Here we have seen in China also things have been and are changing drastically. The media are becoming the base for information and thus knowledge for young people. Young people were moving toward a global community faster than we had thought.

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メディアによるニュースの伝達を通してみた集合的知識の形成：

中国の場合

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要 約

本調査は、2006年に出版された世界10カ国（オーストラリア、オーストリア、チェコ、ドイツ、インド、日本、メキシコ、南アフリカ、アメリカ合衆国、中国）の調査、Ingrid Volkmmer（編）、*News in Public Memory: An International Study of Media Memories across Generations* の一部として行われたものである。中国の部分のみ、2度の翻訳を経なければならなかったため、原稿が遅れ、同書に掲載できなかった。

内容は、メディアの発達と10代に接触したメディアのその後の人間形成（特に、知識の形成）とその集合体としての国民性の形成に与えた影響とその具体的なメカニズムを、現時点まで記憶に残されているニュースに題材を絞って解明しようとしたものである。

方法は、メディア発達に典型的な3つの世代から、それぞれグループインタビューを行い、1) 10代のメディア環境、2) メディアとの付き合い方、3) 記憶されているニュース、を明らかにした。「記憶されているニュース」については、それぞれの世代が10代のときに起こった世界的出来事10を10カ国共通に提示して、どのようなメディアからどのように伝えられたか、何を記憶しているかなどを、語ってもらったものである。

他の9カ国については、メディアの発達（発達の時期は多少異なりがあるにしても）とその付き合い方、影響には、共通のものが多数見られるのに対して、中国はかなりの特異性をもっていることがわかった。たとえば、ニュースの普及が新聞を中心として行われた高齢者世代（Oldestと表記：青少年期1935-1946年）では、知識と思想は地域と階層、性別によって異なりを見せていたのに対し、有線放送の普及した中年世代（Middle：1979-1984年）では、地域、階層、教育、性別にかかわらず統一的な知識・情報が普及して、知識・情報・思想という面で中国全土の統一がなされたことなどが明らかにされた。

Key Words（キーワード）

News（ニュース）、formative years（青少年期の人間形成）、memory（記憶）、knowledge and information（知識・情報）、media environment（メディア環境）、interaction with media（メディアとの接触）、China（中国）、newspaper（新聞）、radio（ラジオ）、TV（テレビ）、the Internet（インターネット）、1935-1945（1935-1945年）、1965-1975（1965-1975年）、1989-1999（1989-1999年）

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